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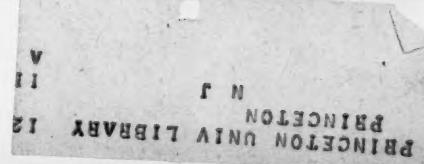
# America

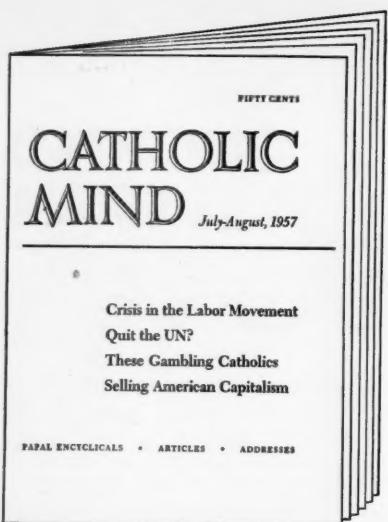
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by Gerard G. Steckler

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# America

*National Catholic Weekly Review*

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# Correspondence

## Fair Trade and Fair Prices

EDITOR: Wherever Fr. Parsons got his information about Fair Trade, it is obvious he did not go into it very deeply (Washington Front 6/15). His most glaring error is that it "gives the manufacturer power to make all retailers in a State charge the price set by the manufacturer." The whole truth is that the manufacturer sets a minimum price, below which the retailer cannot sell the branded product.

I could go into many reasons why Fair Trade is of advantage both to retailer and consumer. But we'll look at the point discussed in the next paragraph, the happy customer thinking he is getting a bargain. First, I hope you'll concede that a retailer must make some kind of profit in order to stay in business. Jones' Jot 'em Down Store buys a whole carload of a nationally advertised drug product in order to get them at 30¢ each. This product usually sells for 59¢ and costs most retailers 40¢ to 45¢. Jones sells them at a bargain-happy-customer-attracting price of 32¢.

Mike's little drug store next door has not a big enough operation to buy a carload, so he's taking a loss when he has to meet the competition. But when Mrs. Bargain-happy asks Mike for some ear drops for her child, Mike charges her \$1 for an item that costs 50¢. He must do it in order to stay alive and in business.

Now, would you want bargains at all costs? Or would you rather not have to shop around so much, and allow the retailer his normal profit percentage on every item rather than a loss on one and a 100-per-cent markup on another? THOMAS W. ULLRICH Aurora, Ind.

## The Holy City

EDITOR: It is doubly curious that in the editorial urging internationalization of Jerusalem ("City of Peace," June 15) you should have devoted so much space to a criticism of Israel's stand but altogether omitted mention of Jordan. Curious first, because Jordan not only shares occupancy of Jerusalem with Israel, but also shares Israel's refusal to accept any change in its status. Second, because only two of the Christian (and one of the Moslem) 39 Holy Places are located on the Israeli side. All the rest are in Jordan.

Unfortunate rather than curious, however, is the viewpoint expressed that a Middle East peace settlement should "begin

with tackling the problem of Jerusalem." Surely one begins by building up in an area of tension, rather than by effecting a disturbance at the one point on which there is substantial agreement between an Arab State and Israel. (REV.) GEORGE B. FORD New York, N. Y.

[We refer Father Ford to a previous editorial on the internationalization of Jerusalem in the Jan. 27 AMERICA (p. 471). Fuller discussion of the Arab and Israeli positions will be found in a letter from the Information Attache of the Embassy of Israel in Washington, published together with our reply in the April 27 issue (pp. 114-120). Ed.]

## Library for Literacy

EDITOR: I have been reading the article "Educating for Illiteracy?" in your issue of June 22. Sister Mary Denise, the author, asks, though shyly: "Is there anything further to be done than to read the best books,

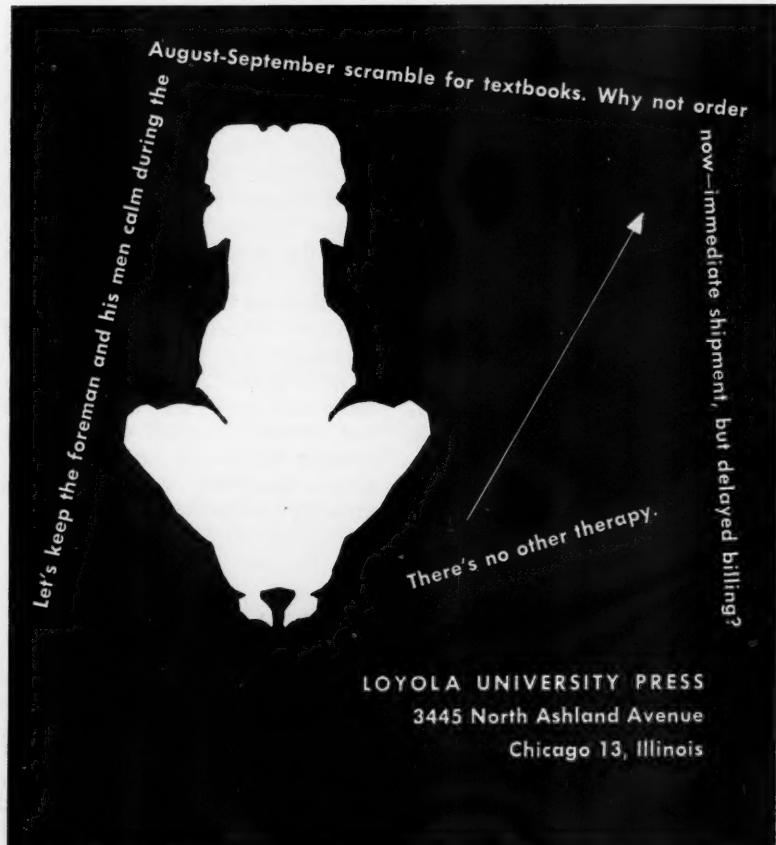
talk about them, teach them, recommend them, in season and out of season?"

What am I doing about it? I have established a free library of Catholic literature.

The Newman Club of the university in this city has given me rent-free housing for the library, and a library board has been formed which advises me. Its members are drawn from faculty members, acting or retired, of the schools of the State. My greatest backing, both advisory and spiritual, has come from the Newman Club chaplains. Visiting clergy brief me on new books, add titles to my "Books I Need" list. Travelers stop in for a cool spot to rest in summer, a warm place to relax and read in winter, and reward me by mailing me books. One woman of considerable wealth gave me \$400 yearly for several years at the beginning of my venture.

Is there a Newman Club in your city? Does it have a librarian who is dedicating four to six hours a day to the work of making better reading available? Why not inquire? Maybe you are the very one for whom God is waiting. A few hours given freely to such work will please God very much.

(MRS.) MARGUERITE C. MILLER  
Tucson, Ariz.



# Current Comment

## Kremlin Convulsions

After the death of Stalin in March, 1953, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist party numbered ten men. The most influential were the triumvirate of Malenkov, Beria and Molotov. Three years later the Presidium had been enlarged by one member. Beria had been executed and Malenkov and Molotov had been demoted. Today, following the vicious infighting in June, the Presidium has 15 members. Molotov and Malenkov are in disgrace, and pudgy, hard-drinking Khrushchev, with generals on his right and left (Zhukov and Bulganin), temporarily rules the roost.

Secretary of State Dulles says it is not yet clear whether the Khrushchev coup represents a power struggle or a struggle over policy. Does it much matter? Communists differ over tactics, not over goals; and the ultimate goal, for Malenkov and Molotov as for Khrushchev, remains a Communist world. As is set forth in greater detail elsewhere in this issue (p. 419), the latest upheaval in Moscow should, therefore, lead to no change in U. S. policy. The free world will remain free only so long as it remains strong.

With this much clear, one may speculate, not without tenuous hope, about the future role of Marshal Zhukov and the Red Army. The military mind may have its defects, but it is immeasurably healthier and more human than the Communist mind. So long as the rulers of Russia remain mesmerized by Marxist-Leninist dogmas, every agreement with them is a potential booby-trap. If the Red Army were boss, might not one dream of normal men sitting around a table, using words honestly and reaching agreements in a human, civilized way?

## "See Him Now" on CBS-TV

Encouraged by the public impact of its Khrushchev interview and undismayed by President Eisenhower's criti-

cism, CBS-TV went through with its June 30 program featuring Yugoslavia's Tito. It would not be surprising if Edward R. Murrow were itching to do the same thing for Mao Tse-tung. In the thirties it was a great coup when an enterprising newsman got an exclusive interview with a Stalin, a Mussolini or a Hitler. It seems only fair that television should now be allowed to exploit the possibilities of its medium in areas that were permitted, of old, to press and radio.

The difference is that television calls for more safeguards than were necessary for press and radio. The picture is more seductive than the word, written or heard. And times are different. When we are spending immense sums to combat the Communist system in the name of freedom, it seems little short of irresponsible to admit into our living rooms what is definitely propaganda for various forms of communism.

To judge from the format of the Tito interview, CBS-TV seemed to realize this time the dangers of a venture into the dictator-interviewing business. A panel of experts analyzed the statements of the Yugoslav dictator immediately after the program. On the religious question, it was noteworthy that the commentators brought out the emptiness of Tito's claim that freedom of religion exists in Yugoslavia, especially in reference to Cardinal Stepinac. But can we always be sure that a pointed and effective refutation will promptly confront the assorted international performers that CBS-TV seems bent on presenting to the American public?

## All's Fairly Well

Just about this time, when most people have their minds on vacation, the Government customarily issues its official report on the fiscal year just elapsed. This is the time, too, when the economic soothsayers, peering into the future, tell us the probable shape of things to come.

There is little this year in these economic exercises to disturb the honest citizen's feeling of summery well-being. For the second year in a row the Federal budget was in the black, and that is something that hasn't happened since the far-off days of the late 1920's. Though the final figures were not available when we went to press, the Treasury announced that on its operations during fiscal 1956 it would show a surplus of about a billion dollars. Those who insist on finding a sour note in this performance can, of course, detect one. The surplus was a good \$700 million shy of the Administration's estimate last January.

As for the economic outlook over the final half of the year, there are enough encouraging signs to justify hope of a pronounced spurt this autumn. At the moment the picture is mixed. Employment is running slightly below last year's level and average factory earnings have dropped nearly \$3 a week. The steel industry is fired up to less than 80 per cent of capacity. Housing, though showing symptoms of new life, continues to lag behind 1956. But personal incomes and gross national product are both higher.

Most observers look for a jump in new auto sales this fall, with stimulating effects on all the industries, including steel, which supply the car-makers. Meanwhile, some of the fever has gone out of the boom and in the long run, despite hardships here and there, that may be all to the good.

## The Arab Refugees

Any serious proposal designed to relieve Arab-Israeli tensions is worth notice. We therefore recommend to the attention of the UN the report Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey made to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee after his April-May tour of the Middle East.

The Minnesota Democrat recommended the formation of a UN good-offices commission to explore the possibility of resettling the near-million refugees of the Palestine war. Calling their plight a "challenge to the conscience of humanity," he proposed their absorption by Syria and Iraq. Both of these countries, the Senator feels, could stand substantial increases in population. Alive to the political issues involved,

These economic conditions are well-being. The Federal Reserve Board that is now in effect since the 1920's is not available. The Treasury operations show a surplus. Those in this sector one, \$1 million, have last

over the enough scope of a At the Employ- last year's gings have the steel 80 per cent show- nues to incomes to the both

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Senator Humphrey stipulated that any resettlement must be accompanied by an Israeli "commitment to accept a limited number of token refugees."

The Senator's recommendations are in harmony with the views recently expressed by Jon Kimche, editor of the London Zionist weekly, *Jewish Observer and Middle East Review*. Like the Senator, Mr. Kimche has just completed a tour of the Middle East. He is convinced that since the November Sinai campaign neither Israel nor the Arabs have any stomach for further military ventures. He points to a revolution in Arab thinking—a conviction on the part of the Arab states that they must reorient their policies on the assumption that Israel has come to stay. The time is ripe, he feels, for a diplomatic and political settlement in the Middle East.

If Mr. Kimche's estimate of the political climate in the Middle East is correct, Senator Humphrey's recommendations are certainly worth the try. The Arab refugee problem has been allowed to fester far too long.

## Labor Peace in Holland

Those who follow the progress of industrial relations in the Netherlands will rejoice that the three-year split between the Socialist and Catholic trade unions has finally been repaired. Toward the end of June the Socialist labor leaders, after a series of conferences with spokesmen for the Dutch hierarchy, announced their readiness to resume cooperation with the Catholic unions.

The trade-union split occurred in 1954 as a consequence of a joint pastoral letter issued that year by the Dutch Catholic bishops. The bishops forbade Catholic workers to become members of Socialist unions on the ground that such membership was a danger to faith and morals. This angered the Socialist labor leaders, who claimed that their unions, despite their non-religious character, fully respected the religious convictions of the rank and file. To the dismay of many non-Socialists, who felt that the pursuit of social justice was dependent on collaboration among Holland's major unions, the Socialists broke off relations with the Catholics.

The ban against Catholic membership in the Socialist unions remains in force. Catholic spokesmen have made

it clear, however, that it was not the purpose of the pastoral to undermine the cooperative inter-union relationship that began during the Nazi occupation and has contributed so notably to post-war stability in Holland. The bishops continue to favor such cooperation.

The importance of this development will be more readily appreciated if one remembers that of Holland's 1.1 million organized workers 500,000 are in Socialist unions, 400,000 in Catholic unions and 200,000 in Protestant unions.

## China Tightens Up

What did Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Chinese Communist party mean last February when he first announced the new policy of letting "a hundred flowers bloom"? Was he really serious about permitting a variety of opinions and criticisms to coexist with Communist dogmatism?

We have not had to wait long for the answer. We have only to consider the tone of the speeches made at the recent National People's Congress (Red China's Parliament) in Peking. From the opening speech of Chou En-lai it was clear that the NPC had one purpose in mind—to denounce the so-called "right deviationists," who had fallen into the trap set by Mao Tse-tung. Their exposure, said Chou En-lai, would help the people "rally more closely round the Communist party."

Taking its cue from the NPC, Peking radio has been carrying on the denunciation campaign. The London *Economist* reports in its issue of July 6 that the Nanking leaders of the China Construction party, one of the "flowers" supposedly accorded full permission to bloom alongside the Communists, have been arrested for conspiracy to overthrow the Government. How many others have met a similar fate? We shall know in time.

## Churches and Social Drinking

Alcohol education through the churches is the aim of an interdenominational organization known as the North Conway Institute, which held its third annual meeting June 17-21 at North Conway, N. H. Its founder and moving spirit is Rev. David Works,

Episcopal rector in North Conway. Rev. John C. Ford, S.J., professor of moral theology at Weston College, Weston, Mass., has worked with the group from its inception as member of the executive committee. About 75 persons attended this year's Institute sessions.

Attitudes regarding the use or non-use of alcoholic beverages vary widely within such an interfaith group, but a common statement, issued this year by the participants, stressed the existence of "a large and growing number of persons for whom churches and synagogues must be concerned"—the social drinkers. Though not compulsive drinkers, they tend to go beyond the bounds of moderation. Harm to themselves, their families and communities inevitably follows such intemperance. The North Conway group concluded that "immoderate drinking is contrary to the highest moral values and ethical insights of our various religious groups."

## Free Labor in Tunisia

Though the U. S. press—with a few notable exceptions—paid little attention to the fifth Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which opened in Tunis on July 5, you can be sure that Moscow and Peking followed its sessions with consuming interest. The choice of the Tunisian capital as site of the ICFTU meeting was no accident. It was plain notice to the Kremlin that the trade unions of the free world have no intention of letting the struggle for the fledgling unions of Asia and Africa go by default.

During the past year this struggle has grown in intensity. On July 24, 1956 the Soviet labor periodical *Trud* sounded a call for a meeting of all Afro-Asian unions. In May of this year the *Trud* call was echoed from Cairo, where leaders of Syrian and Egyptian unions met with a group of Chinese labor officials.

There is no space here to recount all the ICFTU has done (despite some internal stresses) to check the spread of communism in the Afro-Asian world. Among other things, it has raised a million dollars to foster free trade-unionism in the underdeveloped countries. It has established a union training school at Calcutta. Last January it sponsored a regional conference for African unions

in Ghana. If certain difficulties between Socialists and non-Socialists are successfully composed at Tunis, the ICFTU, which now has 126 affiliates in 91 countries, can be counted on to do an even better job in the critical years ahead.

## Attitudes on Divorce

In Canada, we were sorry to read, two out of three Anglicans and United Church members recently said they disapprove of a ban on church marriage for divorced persons. One out of four Ro-

man Catholics expressed disapproval, too. These figures, turned up by pollsters of the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, were published June 26 in the *Montreal Star*.

CIPO reporters first reminded interviewees that some churches refuse to marry couples if one of them has been divorced. They then asked for approval or disapproval of this stand. Of those queried 50 per cent disapproved, while 38 per cent approved. Three per cent gave qualified answers; nine per cent had no opinion.

When answers were broken down according to religious allegiances, disap-

roval was registered by 67 per cent of the Anglicans, 67 per cent of United Church members and 27 per cent of the Catholics.

Significantly, there was less disapproval among young Canadians in their twenties than among any other group. In their group only 46 out of a hundred disapproved, while 51 out of a hundred in the older groups expressed disapproval.

These figures tell a startling story of the inroads of secularism in North America. We must find new ways to stress, both by word and example, the indissolubility of the marriage bond.

## Billy Mitchell Retried

If the recent court martial of Marine Sgt. Matthew McKeon, the current trial of Col. John C. Nickerson Jr. and the impending trial of Sp. William Girard have not been enough to arouse the reader's interest in military law, he might take a look at a project recently undertaken by the Air Force—the "re-trial" of Brig. Gen. William B. ("Billy") Mitchell.

Indeed, there has been an attempt by some supporters of the Army to link the Mitchell and Nickerson cases as involving brother "martyrs" to the furtherance of new and crucial military doctrines.

The Air Force Association, a private veterans and professional group working for the reversal of the Mitchell court-martial verdict, objects to this view.

"Billy Mitchell revolted," the association declares in the May issue of its magazine, *Air Force*, "to give the nation a new and powerful weapon. . . . Colonel Nickerson revolted . . . to insure that the Army would have a share in using a new and powerful weapon." Therefore, *Air Force* concludes, "Colonel Nickerson is no Billy Mitchell."

If that statement seems confusing, it might simplify things to review just what General Mitchell did or did not do.

General Mitchell fought hard for recognition of air power as not only the dominant but just about the only useful force in any future war. He regarded himself and the infant air arm as victims of persecution by the senior, non-flying officers of the Army and Navy and their civilian superiors.

When he could not achieve through normal military procedures the results he thought desirable, Mitchell, while still an officer on active

duty, took to issuing public statements. In October, 1925, he accused the War and Navy Departments of "incompetency, criminal negligence and almost treasonable administration." General Mitchell was court-martialed for insubordination, convicted and eased out of the service.

There is something more involved here than mere administrative procedure. General Mitchell had sworn a solemn oath to show his superiors obedience and respect. To the question of whether it was necessary for him to break that oath in order to protect the nation from disastrous policies, it can only be pointed out that other men, both in the Army and the Navy, working within the framework of the existing military structure, built the Army Air Forces and the Navy and Marine Corps air arms that played so mighty a part in winning World War II.

In demanding reversal of the Mitchell verdict, while at the same time condemning Colonel Nickerson, the Air Force Association is saying that General Mitchell was justified in using his purpose to justify his means, but that Colonel Nickerson, for some unexplained reason, was not.

This willingness to endorse any means, any tactic to reach an end, so long as that end is favorable to the Air Force, must eventually backfire.

The Air Force is now a separate service, resting on the same foundations of discipline, of obedience to and respect for legitimate authority as the Army and Navy.

That any board of review, in the Air Force or out, could be persuaded to reverse the Mitchell court-martial verdict seems unlikely. In furthering that cause, however, and in endorsing, by implication, General Mitchell's tactics, the Air Force Association is furthering a philosophy that can lead only to a tragic harvest, not only in military terms, but in human terms as well.

WILLIAM V. KENNEDY

MR. KENNEDY writes occasionally for AMERICA on military questions.

# Washington Front

## Setting the Court Right

During the Army-McCarthy "trial" three years ago before Senator McCarthy's own Permanent Investigations Committee, Acting Chairman Karl Mundt (R., S.D.) turned to his right to put a point of law to Acting Counsel Ray Jenkins. This was whether a staff member should be required to answer a question put to him by Senator McClellan. To the amazement of almost nobody there present, including Joseph N. Welch, counsel answered in measured tones: "No; he need not answer. This is a law-enforcement body."

The recent June series of civil-rights decisions may be open to criticism on a number of details—as what decisions are not?—but on one point the Supreme Court was clear and unequivocal: a legislative committee is neither a law-enforcing body (that is a function of the executive branch) nor a judicial agency (that function belongs to the judiciary). Its function in investigating is to legislate, or rather, to propose legislation. Thus, it may be hoped, the Jenkins fallacy has been laid to rest.

The Court, in passing on actions of legislative committees, had before it really two questions: 1) what are their natures and functions? and, 2) depending on the answer to the first question, have their actual pro-

cedures been right and proper? For the first, the Court in effect directed the Congress to spell out more in detail what is the nature of these committees, so that both the committees and their witnesses may know whether a given question is relevant or not. It also told the Congress that it is its duty to supervise the procedures, so that these remain within their limits.

For some years now, during the late unhappy era now happily passed into history, the Federal judiciary, from bottom to top, has been restive, and increasingly vocal, over encroachments by legislative bodies on executive and judicial functions. Case after case has gone against the Congress on this score; and now at last the Supreme Court has spoken the last word. Or has it?

Just before the House recessed for its long July Fourth week-end, it appointed, through its Judiciary Committee, a special subcommittee, composed of five otherwise undistinguished members (with the exception, perhaps, of one), to see, as one ingenuous soul put it, how its committees may be protected against the courts. But the terms of reference for this subcommittee, on the face of them clear enough, turn out upon reflection to be so vague and unsubstantial that it is doubtful whether the subcommittee will ever be able to come up with a report, or if it does, whether the report will mean anything. But does not the very vagueness and unsubstantiality of the terms reflect an uneasiness or, shall we say, a sense of guilt? In any case this project of setting the Supreme Court right clearly means that the Court may rest easy; it is safe.

WILFRID PARSONS

## Underscorings

THREE NEW U. S. BISHOPS were appointed on July 3 by Pope Pius XII. Msgr. Edward J. Maginn, pastor of St. Vincent de Paul parish, Albany, N. Y., and vicar general of the diocese, was appointed Auxiliary to Bishop William A. Scully of Albany. Two Auxiliaries to Archbishop Thomas A. Boland of Newark, N. J., were appointed: Msgr. Martin W. Stanton, pastor of St. Aedan's parish, Jersey City; and Msgr. Walter W. Curtis of the faculty of theology at Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, N. J.

►MSGR. WILLIAM E. McMANUS, assistant director since 1945 of NCWC's Department of Education, has been appointed director of the 300,000-student school system of his native Archdiocese of Chicago. At a farewell gathering in Washington, D. C., June 27, tribute to Msgr. McManus' work was

paid by bishops on the Administrative Board and other officials of NCWC, as well as by representatives of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the State Department, and public and private education.

►A NATIONAL SEMINAR on Foreign Student Affairs, will be co-sponsored by NFCCS and the National Newman Club Federation, New York City, Aug. 22-25 (Miss Adrienne Loste, 53 Barry Road, Scarsdale, N.Y.).

►THE COLLEGE READING SERIES, of the Newman Press, Westminster, Md., aims to offer inexpensive, paper-bound anthologies of science, philosophy, theology, history, etc. The first two volumes will appear in September: *Readings in the History of Western Civilization*, edited by Dr. Thomas P. Neill of St. Louis University.

and *Readings in the Philosophy of Nature*, edited by Rev. Henry J. Koren, C.S.Sp., of Duquesne University.

►GREYFRIARS, a Capuchin house of studies in Oxford, England, was granted on June 18 the status of a permanent private hall of the university. Greyfriars is the third modern Catholic hall of the university, the other two being Campion Hall (Jesuits) and St. Benet's Hall (Benedictine).

►THE FIRST GHANIAN to be named a Knight of St. Gregory, George Kweku Hagan, is executive secretary of Ghana's Department of Forestry. He is president of the Accra Diocesan Council of Catholic Men.

►JOSEPH W. CUNNINGHAM of West Hartford, Conn., became president of Serra International on June 26. The organization, named after the early Franciscan missionary in California, Fr. Junípero Serra (1718-84), promotes vocations to the priesthood and helps in the education of seminarians. C. K.

# Editorials

## Supreme Court on Trial

The storm of sloganeering that currently rages around the Supreme Court's recent decisions on the Smith Act and on the Jencks, Service and Watkins cases will probably go roaring on into next year. On both sides of the dispute we can expect sweeping and unjustified claims and counter-claims, most of them running far wide of the narrow confines of the decisions themselves. On one hand, the Court itself and the competence of its nine Justices will continue to be assailed. On the other hand, utterly unfounded conclusions will be drawn by those who, in their desperate attempt to hide from even the most pertinent questioning of congressional committees, will soon be seen crawling behind the black robes of the Justices at future congressional hearings. In fact, the pattern has already been set. Who can read and not wince at the transcript of the June 26 hearings of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, where two RCA communications technicians time after time flew behind the wording of the Watkins decision in an investigation meticulously tailored to comply with the strictures of the Court?

How are we to judge the wisdom and prudence of our Supreme Court in these cases? We do not believe that the men who occupy that high bench are soft-headed dupes who should be replaced or impeached. Neither do we consider these decisions to be as free as they might have been from the very "vice of vagueness" that the Court deplores in the operation of Congress. Many will agree with Senator McClellan: ". . . what the country needs most today is a Supreme Court of lawyers with a reasonable amount of common sense." Others say the Court spurns precedent. No one, however, can deny that the Justices look with scrupulous concern to the preservation of our constitutional rights. Moreover, the Court has given judgment in a tangled region where conflicts abound and where no one who expresses an opinion can hope to be immune from criticism.

### THE CENTRAL ISSUE

Even wiser heads than those of our Supreme Court Solons might well be stumped by certain of the dilemmas arising out of today's ideological war with communism and Communist sympathizers. The central issue is simply this: To what extent can we afford to uphold every guarantee of the Constitution at a time when these safeguards work in apparent favor of persons committed to destroy that Constitution and our whole way of life? Within the limits of the cases before it, the Court has answered this question. In certain respects the answer was incomplete and imprecise, and those defects will occasion a host of problems and conflicts that

could well have been avoided. As a result, we are now left with the task of fashioning even stronger and better-wrought legal bonds with which to restrain the Communist conspirator.

At the heart of the emotional tempest brewing over these recent verdicts is the case of John T. Watkins, a labor leader who refused to reveal the names of some former associates, while himself admitting associations with Communists and cooperation with the Communist party. Watkins' refusal was made to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Chief Justice Warren, in his majority opinion on this case, stresses the power of Congress to conduct investigations. This power, he says, is inherent in the legislative process. Such investigations, however, must be related to and must further some legitimate task of Congress. Exposure "for the sake of exposure" is not such a task.

The Chief Justice's critics should remember that he said it is "unquestionably the duty of a citizen to co-operate with the Congress in its efforts to obtain the facts needed for intelligent legislative action." By no means did he assert that Watkins should not reveal the names of his Communist associates. What he did say was that under the circumstances of the hearing Watkins was not given "a fair opportunity to determine whether he was within his rights in refusing to answer."

### FIRE WITH FIRE?

This is the point. Can exposure of witnesses apart from legislative purposes be justified under our Constitution? It is argued that resort was had at times to extra-constitutional means and methods in order to support and defend the Constitution itself against its subverters. This is an appealing argument, especially at a time when public opinion is so justifiably angry over the traitorous acts of those who claim the full rights of American citizens. On reflection, however, we see that the argument does not stand up. This is not the way to defend the Constitution. As Walter Lippmann wrote in his June 25 column:

The Supreme Court has waited a long time—some ten years—before it has intervened in what is unconstitutional process, resorted to on the grounds that fire must be fought with fire, that the end, which is to stop communism, justifies any means.

Such is the central issue in our present dispute over the Court's "libertarian" stands. To the extent that this issue has been clarified, we welcome these affirmations. But our minds would be more at ease if the Court had left fewer loopholes unplugged in the defenses we are raising against Communist subversion.

# The Moscow Explosion

In this free world, as has often been said, we have no experts on Soviet policies, only varying degrees of ignorance. So when such mighty veterans as former Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov, Stalin's supposed successor G. M. Malenkov, L. M. Kaganovich and the more recently prominent D. T. Shepilov are bounced from the all-powerful Presidium of the Communist party—along with other functionaries—we jump at the crackling thunderclap, but are by no means sure where the lightning has really hit.

Certain it is that Nikita Khrushchev is now at the undisputed top. Close to the summit (is he already at it?) is the Soviet Army's General Georgi Zhukov. (In some obscure nook of the USSR or in Poland, a reckless wight may be witticizing over an odd coincidence: *zhuk* and *khrushch* both mean "beetle," as do their counterparts in Polish; the new duumvirate is a scarabocracy.) At any rate, demotion is Molotov's bitter reward for forty years of devoted service as the "iron man" of Soviet foreign policy. It is Shepilov's prize for acting recently as Russia's disruptive agent in the Middle East.

"Khrushchev," said the British *Daily Mail* (Conservative) for July 4, "has shown himself to be cunning, ruthless and unreliable. The West must treat with him and the regime he now dominates, but would be foolish to trust either." Such, in the main, is the tenor of press comments here and abroad. Generally assumed is the intramural nature of this upheaval. It is not intended to indicate any weakening of the monolithic Soviet front.

The point seems somewhat clearer when we think of Khrushchev in the lurid perspective of his earlier mighty explosion: his denunciation of Stalin at the 20th Communist Party Congress of February 25, 1956. A recent symposium of French studies on this particular point (*Moscou au Tournant*, Paris, Editions Spes) shows how dubious is any inference of a real Soviet change of heart toward the rest of the world.

## ARCH VILLAIN

Amid all the perplexity there are certain clear facts about that 1956 denunciation. First of all, Khrushchev's plan was thoroughly hatched. During the three years that followed Stalin's mystery-shrouded death on March 5, 1953, the public mind was being carefully conditioned for the final dethronement of the super-adulated hero—brilliant economist, fatherly statesman, superb strategist and winner of World War II, lover of little children, expert in linguistic science, etc. Cautiously, inexorably, Lenin's sacred name was again being enshrined, while J. V. Stalin became simply another of the mighty Lenin's great followers.

Secondly, Khrushchev emerged as an accomplice in the very crimes he was denouncing. Previously, during the Stalinist reign of iniquity, anti-party treachery, "worship of personality" and four major "purge trials," never a word had come from Nikita.

Writes André Pierre, of the Paris *Monde* (p. 92):

The main thing lacking in Khrushchev's diatribe against Stalin is precisely what you would expect to have found there, an act of contrition. . . . In a country like Russia where the *amende honorable* is current practice, Khrushchev has not made the *mea culpa* which one would rightfully expect of him.

What guarantee have we, this writer asks, that Khrushchev will not be Stalin No. 2? One naturally asks: Where was Khrushchev hiding during the long period of Stalinist misdeeds? With all his voluble fury, the wary Khrushchev, speaking at the 20th Congress, made no mention of major Stalinist crimes: the 70 per cent of the party's Central Committee shot by Stalin; the assassination of Kirov; nothing about the infamous concentration camps, Karaganda and Vorkuta; nothing on the brutal liquidation of the "kulaks"—small farm owners—or the millions sacrificed in order to "build socialism." Stalin was blamed, when all is said, merely for intra-party delinquencies. Lacking the innate modesty which, in Lenin's view, should characterize a true Communist militant, Stalin lapsed into the "errors" of tyranny and cruelty. Now the same "errors" have betrayed the men recently deposed. But only a very naive person can be taken in by such typical examples of Communist moralizing. Once the sanctimonious trappings are stripped off, the angry, wilful dictator shows his true countenance.

## SOVIET MADNESS

When Georges Altman, editor of *Franc-Tireur*, arrived in Moscow on the eve of May 1, 1956 with a delegation of the French Socialist party, the Frenchmen were mystified at Nikita's rage. Purple-faced, he harangued the visitors at a fabulous Kremlin banquet: "We are strong. We are an industrialized and military power. I, Khrushchev, fear nobody, not even the Devil, if he exists." At which Comrade Mikoyan wrily commented, noting the French wonderment: "But you know, Nikita, nobody has seen the Devil."

The Father of Lies, as usual, keeps himself comfortably hid. Most seasoned observers seem to set little store by the Soviet theatricals. The actors are imprisoned in the upside-down logic of their monolithic system. Perhaps, conjectures the London *Economist*, the rebukes to Molotov and Shepilov mean that some more liberal peace approaches. However, what counts in the long run is the pressure of ordinary human realities: economic, cultural, not to speak of spiritual. In the next few years, says *Pravda*, the task will be to catch up with the United States in the per-capita production of meat, milk and butter: the issue which seems to have led to Molotov's downfall. If Khrushchev doesn't catch up—and fast—Molotov & Co. may come back, if they haven't already been liquidated. Hence the present rulers, though they have grasped the power, are confronted with the same old problems. In our relations with them, there appears to be no reason to depart from our firm and cautious path.

# The Belgian Congo: Which Way?

*Gerard G. Steckler*

**I**N THE CENTER of the continent of Africa lies the Belgian Congo, a nation almost one-third the size of the United States, with a population of some 12.5 million. Eighty times larger than its mother country, it is Belgium's only foreign possession. Responsible persons both in Belgium and in her colony admit unofficially that inside twenty years, unless world conditions hasten the event, the Congo will gain independence.

Granted its eventual sovereignty, what sort of political future lies in store for the Congo? Just as France has her Union Française, and Britain her Commonwealth, so is there a Belgium-Congo Community. Will this latter be replaced by a Belgium-Congo Union, or will all traces of Belgian influence disappear? How will the inevitable changes take concrete form?

This article will deal principally with these political questions. Yet, behind the political questions lie much more important considerations—social, economic, cultural and particularly religious.

During 1956 five different groups published their manifestos concerning various aspects of the Congo's future. Four of the five manifestos were completely political in tone and, as such, may be divided into two categories: 1) that of the two principal political parties of Belgium, the Socialists and the Catholics; and 2) that of two Congolese groups. The fifth "manifesto," a statement of the local Catholic bishops treating the religious aspects of the problem, will, as it were, serve as judge of the first four.

Two points should be noted here. First, the party or parties in power in Belgium at any moment bear the responsibility for Congolese policy at that moment. Second, until recently the natives of the Congo had not an iota of political consciousness. A few years ago that consciousness awakened abruptly and since then has developed into a power that no politician can afford to ignore.

## BELGIAN AIMS

Belgium presents a classic example of a modern anti-clerical state. Despite the fact that 95 per cent of her population are baptized Catholics, the reins of government have been held since 1954 by an unnatural coalition of two of her three largest political parties: the Socialists (38 per cent of the seats in the House of Deputies) and the Liberals (13 per cent). The coalition is unnatural because any liaison linking Socialists, who honor basic Marxist aims, with a group that holds the same domestic policies as the extreme right wing of the U. S. Republican party must be termed unnatural.

This joining of forces was the only method to prevent the Catholic Social-Christian party from taking power. The Catholic party has 42 per cent of the parliamentary seats, a percentage which exactly reflects the number of practicing Catholics in Belgium. (For a bird's-eye view of the political turbulence in Belgium and its causes, see "The Vast Design of Belgian Socialists," *AM.* 4/23/55.) The unrest in the Belgian Congo is another manifestation of the unholy ambitions of the Socialists.

The Liberals are essentially capitalists, interested principally in paternalistic exploitation. They favor the principle of mass colonization, i.e., the importing of Belgian citizens to settle the Congo, especially in the fertile east and northeast. But they have shown themselves unable to present any practical political program for the future of the Congo.

The Socialists are a horse of a different color. They have proved themselves first-class contortionists. In the latter half of the 19th century, the visionary Leopold II of Belgium had succeeded in creating the Congo Free State. The Socialists, under their leader Emil Vandervelde, tried in vain to prevent the Belgian Government from annexing, in 1908, this personal possession of Leopold as the Belgian Congo. As true Socialists, they opposed capitalism and money politics.

For almost forty years, though they were all the while a powerful force in Belgium, they never once concerned themselves about the fate of the Congo. Silently they stood by and allowed the work of development to be done by the missions, the business interests and the Belgian Governments. Never once did they lift a finger to help in the improvement of education, hygiene, the economy or administration.

What are the Socialists doing now? From the very beginning of the present Belgian political alignment, they—and the Liberals—have broken an unspoken gentlemen's agreement by establishing their political parties in the Congo. They have set up political cells, into which they have admitted select members of the

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Congo's white and black population. Their unions, too, busy themselves with political activity. The problems of the Congo's interior interest the Socialists much less than those of the large cities. Very few Socialists can be listed as technically expert in the everyday problems of the colony.

When in the beginning of 1956 the Socialist Congress met, the sittings dragged on for several months. Their manifesto, the Congolese Work-Program of the Belgium Socialist Party, appeared in the Belgian newspaper *Le Peuple*, July 2, 1956. It is disturbing to notice that their program literally gushes with conclusions and decisions which, though proposed as epoch-making, either have been already generally accepted or could mean something else entirely.

Put as simply as possible, the Socialists want state control as a preparation for nationalization. One has only to read between the lines of their propositions about the economy, health, housing, education and general social progress to realize that nationalization is the ultimate goal. Moreover, all important administration posts are to remain in the possession of the whites.

#### THE CATHOLIC PARTY

Let us now take a look at the ideas of the Catholic Social-Christian party. The Catholic party's right to speak is shown by the fact that many improvements in the colony up to World War II can be traced to its initiative. This has brought with it mixed blessings. Though the Catholic party has always been marked by a certain humanitarian enthusiasm, evidenced, e.g., by its support of state funds to aid education, missions, health measures, etc., it has also, unfortunately, been responsible for economic exploitation. Despite the soothing argument that this was common practice among all the colonial powers, it cannot be too much criticized and deplored. The Socialists must accept their share of the blame. Had they remained true to their own principles during their two decades of silence, they should have attacked and countered such policies.

The Catholic unions concern themselves almost completely with the social problems of the working native. The party refuses to establish political cells, convinced of the senselessness of introducing into the Congo the political structure of Belgium. It believes that the political structure of a nation depends upon the problems peculiar to that nation. This is not to say, of course, that the Catholic party opposes the formation of political parties in the Congo.

What, in the concrete, does the Catholic Social-Christian party propose? Their manifesto, published February 26, 1956, limits itself to general directives, and cautiously (some would say prudently) avoids mention of this or that particular point. Proceeding from the assumption that the political framework of the Congo must come from within, they propose nothing "concretely." Though a reading of their manifesto leaves one with the suspicion that they have not abandoned the principle of economic domination, they do seek a gradual transfer of power to the natives, so that

the latter can make the final decisions as to their political future.

It is obvious, therefore, that neither of Belgium's two great political powers opposes independence. The disputed point is the role of the natives in a free Congo. We shall now see what the natives themselves have to say about that.

#### CONGOLESE ANSWERS

On July 1, 1956, a literary bomb fell upon the 400,000 people who constitute the population of Leopoldville, capital of the Belgian Congo. Its effect was as electrifying for all as it was demoralizing for those who were unprepared for it. It set off a chain reaction in the hearts not only of educated natives but of many whites as well. It was a special edition of the native-published organ, *Conscience Africaine*. A second printing of 10,000 copies barely had time to settle on the newsstands before the amazed blacks and whites snapped them up. This issue contained a manifesto or, more accurately, an ultimatum. It demonstrated the complete political consciousness of a small, determined group of educated natives, who desire that the colonial Administration ask their advice on any and every point concerning their present existence and future fate. Before entering into some necessary particulars, it would be well to examine the credentials of the group behind the CA ultimatum.

Many study clubs have been organized throughout the Congo for the natives by commercial and industrial companies, missions and the colonial Administration. These clubs answer a need felt by educated Congolese to discuss the problems which concern them, e.g., customary law, education, economy, history, etc. *Conscience Africaine* was one such club, founded by Catholic missionaries in Leopoldville in 1948. It owed its origin to the desires of young Congolese intellectuals, who longed to understand the intricate problems of their socio-economic milieu and who wanted to find the proper application of moral principles to these concrete problems.

The leaders of CA found that for fervent, dynamic Catholics, life in a large city poses frightening moral problems. In study circles, night schools and universities, they studied, as only those possessed of an ideal can, philosophy, economics, sociology, ethics and simi-



lar subjects. CA grew and branched out. Slowly the group came to the realization that the political problem was the first to be solved.

Leader and inspiration of CA is Joseph Iléo, 35, oldest of the all-native policy-makers. He devotes to the organization all the time left free from his duties as employe of the OCA (Office of African Cities), the organization for mass construction of houses. Another important position in CA is held by Albert Nkuli. Dominique Nzangabie and two young women, Catherine Djoli and Michèle Kaniki, complete the top five of the policy-setting echelon.

One would have to search far and wide to find a more stirring exposition of the ideals and goals of any one people than is contained in the CA manifesto. It gives clear and serious warning to all whites that nothing definitive can take place in the Congo without the cooperation and will and initiative of its native population. All thinking blacks believe that the Congo has been called to become a great nation in the heart of Africa. Since all men are equal before God, the dilemma that many Belgians propose, either to dominate the Congo or to abandon it, is false and unreal.

#### PLATFORM OF C.A.

Borrowing an idea from a brilliant young Catholic Fleming, Prof. A. A. Van Bilsen, the editors ask for complete independence within thirty years, preceded by a gradual but complete political, economic, social and cultural emancipation. The Congolese are thankful for the material and spiritual blessings for which Belgium has been responsible. But since they consider the present white rule as the last provisional stage prior to independence, they reject unequivocally Belgium's political parties and political interference. The Congo needs unity, not strife. No blood need be spilled over a problem which admits of but one solution: complete freedom for the Belgian Congo under native hegemony.

After the initial shock, the white response became twofold: 1) sympathy and appreciation among the majority of Administration officials (Iléo was graciously received in audience by the Governor General) and many well-intentioned whites; 2) panic among all the rest, above all the nationalization-desiring Socialists and certain ultraconservative Catholics. Neither of these groups had suspected that the Congolese were so intellectually and politically mature. The program of bread and circuses had failed.

Socialists charged that the text and ideas had been

the work of whites, especially of Catholic missionaries and Catholic laymen, because of the Catholic tenor of the document. Actually, the leaders of CA had been working on the manifesto in Leopoldville for a whole year without anyone knowing a thing about



it. Iléo refuted completely in the following number of CA the theory of white inspiration. The only outside influence had come from two professors of the University of Leopoldville who supervised the writing of the definitive French text. Particularly galling to the Socialists was the fact that the manifesto appeared just one day before the Socialists' own manifesto. All attention was immediately riveted upon the CA document; the Socialist proposals caused hardly a ripple.

When CA's manifesto appeared, both whites and natives were asked to study it, with a view to suggesting practical methods for the realization of the program's various points. A month later the first answer came. It was more than the leaders of CA had expected or wanted. In the lower Congo lives a tribe known as Bakongo (i.e., inhabitants of Congo), a former independent kingdom much more nationalistically-minded than CA. This tribe of 2 million members speaks the Kikongo language. Some of its leaders regularly express their sentiments, though certainly not those actually felt at the moment by the whole of the 2 million, through what was originally a cultural group, now more political, the Association of the Bakongolese for the Unification, Conservation and Expansion of the Kikongo Language (ABAKO).

The spokesmen of ABAKO, as a reaction against what they considered the mildness of CA's manifesto, published their own ultimatum: a demand for immediate independence for the whole of the Congo. It is obvious that the ABAKO leaders wield a potential political power that can bring together the great majority of the Bakongolese. The Belgian Government fears their extremist demand, which betrays lack of logic and maturity. But the fear is there precisely because the Congo's pulse is Leopoldville, 70 per cent of whose inhabitants are Bakongolese.

#### THE BISHOPS' CRITERIA

Mention must be made, finally, of the views of the Catholic episcopate of the Congo, a group which has nothing to do with politics, despite the assertions of many anticlerical Belgians both at home and abroad.

On the occasion of their plenary session, June 29, 1956, the bishops of the Belgian Congo and of Ruanda-Urundi (two districts bordering the Congo's east and now administered by Belgium as UN trusteeships) defined the Church's position in regard to the problems posed by the political, economic and social evolution of the Congo. They outlined the Church's traditional doctrine concerning Church-State relations and the rights and duties of subjects. The bishops then proceeded to emphasize that the inhabitants of any nation have, in consequence of their duty to further actively the general welfare, the right to participate in the leadership of public affairs.

The guardian nation of a colony has the duty not only to respect but to promote the exercise of this right through the medium of a gradual political education. The natives have to become conscious of the complexity of their responsibilities and to train themselves to meet them. It is not the province of the Church to take a

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position as to how a people should be emancipated. Emancipation is lawful, provided it springs from respect for rights and mutual charity. The bishops conclude by defining the tasks of Catholics in the Congo:

The Catholic layman has the right to take part in political and social life. He must be on his guard that the rights of the Christian conscience be respected in whatever form institutions come into existence. He has to study the problems attentively to find for them a solution that reflects the common good, as Christian social teaching prescribes. The Catholic laymen must band together to secure acceptance for the demands of their faith. They are to pray to God that He help them in their duty to society and that He bless their land.

#### WANTED: BLACK-WHITE COOPERATION

Most Belgians and practically all of the Congo's white settlers would like to see eventually some sort of permanent union between Belgium and her colony. To that wish the Congolese answer: you cannot bind us to a union; that may well be the end result, but only because we natives shall have chosen it. During these

years leading up to independence, the Belgians are maneuvering to influence that final decision of the natives, in the hope that it will be in favor of some kind of union.

Particular attention by all concerned must be given to five points in order to improve relations, on the one hand between Belgium and the Congo and on the other among the divergent groups of the Congo itself: 1) complete elimination of the color bar; 2) a solution for the terribly involved land-tenure and soil-conservation problems; 3) more detachment on the part of the Belgians as to the final decision; 4) more Africanization, especially in administration, education and the economy; 5) a greater national consciousness and mutual trust among the native Congolese.

All eyes are upon Leopoldville these days. That city will act as barometer for the future of the Belgian Congo. This is true, not only because Leopoldville and the entire Lower Congo represent the most developed sectors of the Congo, but because the capital city is the stronghold of the most outspoken proponents of Congolese desires and demands. No one doubts that they mean business.

# The McCarran-Walter Act

*Robert H. Amundson*

**A** CLASSIC VOLUME on the American Negro, Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* (1944), described the sense of moral guilt experienced by most white Americans when faced with the realization that in too many instances only lip service is being paid to the principles embodied in our Constitution. These principles provide for the safeguarding and protecting of the inalienable rights possessed by all men, regardless of race, creed or color. In theory these principles are respected, but in actual practice many ways have been found of discriminating against the Negro.

An interesting extension of the American dilemma can be found in the field of immigration legislation. The dilemma in this case does not involve the American Negro, but rather the very same kind of people who helped draft the constitutional principles which we are now using to discriminate against their descendants. Certainly most Americans must experience a sense of moral embarrassment when asked to justify our present immigration laws in the light of the democratic concept of "equal rights and justice for all." Since 1924 this has apparently been changed to read: "equal rights and

justice for all those born in the Nordic countries." An analysis of our current immigration law may shed some light on the nature of the dilemma and how to resolve it.

The McCarran-Walter Act, also known as the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, is not a new or radical legislative innovation. Rather, it is nearly a carbon copy of the National Origins Law which was passed in 1924 and was slightly modified in 1929. Therefore, in order to understand fully the provisions of the 1952 legislation (even though some sections of the act seem to defy interpretation) it is necessary to know something of the background of our immigration laws.

#### "OLD" AND "NEW" IMMIGRANTS

Since 1820, when statistics on immigration were first recorded, more than 38 million immigrants have come to the United States. It is estimated that of this number, 32 million came to stay. The largest number of immigrants arrived during the 80 years from 1840 to 1920. Those who came in the interval from 1840 to 1890 are known as the Old Immigration, and those from 1890 to 1920 as the New Immigration. The nationality groups making up the Old Immigration came from the so-called "Nordic" countries in north-central and north-western Europe. The New Immigrants, on the other hand, came from the southern and southeastern Euro-

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pean countries. These distinctions are important, since our National Origins Law is based both on the *time* when the immigrants arrived in the United States and the *place* whence they came.

The National Origins Law of 1924 provided that 2 per cent of each nationality group represented in the United States in the year 1890 could enter this country each year. The 1929 legislation raised the quota to 3 per cent and advanced the date to 1910. But the damage had already been done. A previous law passed in 1921 together with the 1924 law had succeeded in cutting down the percentage of immigrants from south and southeastern Europe from 75 per cent in 1913 to 14 per cent in 1929. At the same time the ratio from the Nordic countries was increased from 20.8 per cent in 1913 to 83.3 per cent in 1929.

Despite the large quota assigned to the Nordic countries, however, the failure of many to use their allotted number has defeated the very purpose of the National Origins Law. From 1930 to 1951, the Nordic countries used only 55.8 per cent of their allotted quotas. This means that perpetuation of the racial *status quo* in the United States from 1929 to 1952 was due, not to the operation of the National Origins Law, but to a reduction in the total number of immigrants.

The National Origins Law was based on a mistaken notion that people from the Nordic countries possess a pure racial heredity and hence have a higher intelligence and superior qualities of character and initiative. But the innate superiority of one race over another has never been proved, and anthropologists ridicule the idea that there is now any pure-blooded race or sub-race.

#### THE McCARRAN-WALTER LAW

The failure of the National Origins Law to achieve its purpose did not deter the late Sen. Pat McCarran of Nevada, along with Rep. Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, from formulating a nearly identical immigration law in 1952. This law, like the previous one, is not concerned with the personal worth of the immigrant but

rather with his place of birth. It discriminates on the basis of national origin, race and color. The basic provisions for assigning quotas remain essentially unchanged. The quota for Italy in 1929 was 5,802; in 1952 it became 5,645. The quota for Great Britain and Northern Ireland was reduced from 65,721 in 1929 to 65,361 in 1952.

The number of immigrants to be admitted annually is 154,000. This number is roughly equal to



1/6 of 1 per cent of the total *white* population of the United States in 1920. It is important to note that neither Negroes nor Indians are included in the total population base used to assign quotas. Were they to be included, the total number of immigrants would automatically be increased to 171,000, and if the 1950 census figures were used instead of those for 1920, the number would reach 251,000. The few positive features of the 1952 law can be described briefly but completely as the codification of existing immigration laws and the assigning of minimum quotas to Oriental countries.

There is much discussion today in the streets of America and in both academic and political circles concerning the present and future status of Hungarian refugees under the McCarran-Walter Act. Hungary was assigned a quota of 865 immigrants per year under the 1952 law. This quota was to be used by Hungarian *immigrants*, however, not by Hungarian *refugees*. The McCarran Act does not contain adequate provisions to handle the mass exodus from Hungary caused by the revolution of last October. Why? Because since 1924 the "right of asylum" has been eliminated as a basic feature of our immigration laws. As a result, when a crisis occurs, we must resort to such hurried, fragmentary and piecemeal legislation as the Refugee Act of 1940, the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and the Refugee Relief Act of 1953.

The 65,000 Hungarian refugees that this country proposes to accept are being admitted on the strength of a Presidential Order and under the "parolee" provision of the McCarran-Walter Act. This provides that the refugees be allowed to remain in the United States under rigorous scrutiny and constant investigation by the FBI, but cannot become citizens. Special legislation is expected to be introduced in the 85th Congress concerning the number of refugees to be admitted and the possibility of citizenship opportunities.

#### DEFECTS OF PRESENT LAW

A more detailed analysis of the 1952 law raises so many objections to its provisions that a revision or a series of amendments may not be sufficient to cope with its inadequacies. An entirely new immigration law may be the only solution.

Two of the many objectionable provisions of the act concern flagrant violation of the due process of law and the double examination of the immigrant by the Department of State and again by the Department of Justice. Under the present law, statutes of limitation in deportation cases have been abolished and grounds for deportation have been made retroactive. Thus, a person can now be deported for an action committed in 1925 to which, at that time, there was no penalty attached. By the same token, a person performing an act that is lawful today can be deported if legislation is passed in 1980 making such an act unlawful. Can we continue to extol the democratic concept of "equal justice for all" in the face of an immigration law which violates the very principles of legal protection?

The double examination required of the immigrant is also a parody of justice. When an immigrant is granted a visa by a U. S. consular official to come to the United

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States, there is no guarantee that he will be admitted when he actually arrives here. After severing business, legal, political and, in some cases, family ties, he may be rejected at the port of entry by the Immigration Officer.

Other objections to the 1952 law are: 1) it eliminates teachers from the non-quota group; 2) it permits the opinion of a consular officer to be the final word on barring of immigrants who are *likely* to become public charges; 3) it eliminates judicial review of deportation cases in many instances; 4) it deprives American citizens of the right to be immune from search or official interrogation without a warrant; 5) it requires rigid tests for admission of skilled or unskilled workers; 6) it requires deportation of immigrants who become addicted to narcotics after entry; and 7) it establishes a special inferior status for persons of Asiatic extraction, including Filipinos.

There have been several unsuccessful attempts made to amend the 1952 law. The Perlman Commission appointed by former President Truman in the fall of 1952 submitted many recommendations for changes, none of which ever achieved fruition. Several bills have been introduced during both Eisenhower Administrations in an effort to amend the law. The most recent is one introduced on June 27 by Sen. John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts. This would provide, among other things, for reuniting families, utilizing unused quotas and removing "mortgages" on the quotas of future years. Representative Walter is reported to agree with the major provisions of the bill, which is thought to have a better chance of success than its predecessors.

#### PROPOSED AMENDMENTS

Among objectives to be sought in revising or rewriting the 1952 legislation are: 1) liberalization of Oriental quotas; 2) consolidation of agencies to eliminate the double examination of immigrants; 3) a vigorous review of present policies that violate due process of law; 4) establishing a single, unified quota of 1/6 of 1 per cent of the total population of the United States, based on current census data, including Negroes and Indians; 5) the transfer of present and future unused quotas to countries which have used up their quotas or already mortgaged them into the future.

With reference to the present Hungarian problem, a permanent provision should include the right of asylum for expellees and refugees. This provision has been missing from our immigration laws since 1924. The numbers to be admitted under the right of asylum should be flexible, but the provision should become a part of our basic immigration policy. This would eliminate the need for periodic emergency and piecemeal legislation, such as the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and the Refugee Relief Act of 1953.

In the sincere hope of arousing some serious thinking and discussion concerning a more just and equitable immigration law, two significant questions can be asked. Can the United States prove to the world that it is a vigorous, healthy and prosperous country so long as it retains an immigration law based on fear, ignorance and suspicion? Can the United States develop an

effective foreign policy if, by our own immigration laws, we lower our prestige in the eyes of the world?

Immigrants built our country. They supplied not only manpower but also creative ideas and skills that have enriched our culture. The democratic ideal was not easily achieved in our land. Anti-democratic forces have long been at work to weaken it, and to distort it into their own peculiar brand of "democracy," with scant regard for minority rights. Fair and equitable immigration laws must recognize the rights and dignity of the individual person—not only the rights and dignity of the individual Caucasian citizen, or of the individual Caucasian citizen from a Nordic country.

An immigration law based on worn-out theories of racial superiority is a dangerous national asset in these troubled times, when colonial empires are breaking up and movements for national independence are gaining momentum. Until 1924 America was known throughout the world as a haven for the oppressed. Since then, however, our generous policy has been replaced by open discrimination on the basis of race, color, place of birth and alleged inferiority. Reasonable control of immigration does not require such an attitude of suspicion and distrust toward aliens. The McCarran-Walter Act is not all bad, but a careful analysis of it indicates that we are paying too high a price for the little good it brings us.

#### Encounter

Thoughtlessly homing in a rainy twilight,  
Wearied, worried over wife and child,  
I wake to find my name attending

At the porches of my ear and, turning, meet  
An unknown face that smiles in welcome.  
Under the unfamiliar features I disclose

The faded likeness of a boy, forgotten  
And long loved, in the deserts of school  
And wilds of play a dear companion.

Chanting our spell of half-remembered names,  
Uneasily straining to renew in handclasp,  
Laugh, and fumbling words our bleded vows,

I meet my shocking image mirrored in  
His eyes, stooped as a question mark,  
Eroded by the wash of years, retreating

Hair and ambition, settled in my ways  
Into circle or cipher. And my disturbing  
Glass has given him a picture, too.

We change addresses and farewells, parting  
Perhaps forever, mourning not the loss of friends  
But of the boys we were. I journey, my discovered  
Self my comrade, towards home and sleep.

JOSEPH P. CLANCY

# New Catholic Poets

*Thomas P. McDonnell*

HERE SEEMS LITTLE DOUBT that some of the best Catholic writing in America today is being done in poetry. Where, for example, can you find an American novel by a Catholic that can compare with the best of Waugh and Greene in England or Bernanos and Mauriac in France? And though we are much better represented in the short-story form, with J. F. Powers, Paul Horgan and Flannery O'Connor, we have still some way to go (in the long run) to compete with the best of the Irish. As for the Catholic drama in America, it is practically non-existent. Nothing that we have produced can compare with the plays of Paul Claudel or half-a-dozen lesser figures in Europe.

But in this country increasing numbers of young (or new) poets are beginning to establish reputations of considerable respect and importance. I mean to say there are more good poets in the United States today than there are good novelists or short-story writers or playwrights. These reputations, moreover, stand four-square with those of the best "new" Catholic poets in England, with David Jones, for example, and F. T. Prince, who wrote the much anthologized "The Soldiers Bathing." Roy Campbell, of course, was an old campaigner; and Dame Edith Sitwell reigns practically supreme as the grand matriarch of English poetry.

In our own country Allen Tate's place in the front rank of American poetry is unassailable. John Frederick Nims has been well and firmly established in the generation that produced Karl Shapiro and Randall Jarrell. Henry Rago, a poet in his own right, is now serving as editor of *Poetry* magazine in Chicago. And Robert Lowell has given us poems which, if not exactly "at home" in the Catholic economy, are nevertheless dramatic evidence of the intense inner struggle of his personality as it came in contact with the Church. (The fact that Robert Lowell has suffered himself to part from the Church does not, of course, alter the impact of his "Catholic" poems. It may make them even more poignant, if that is the word, to the sensitive reader; but that has nothing at all to do with making them greater or lesser works of art.)

So we come now to those poets who, in my estimation, are making the greatest advances in Catholic poetry. And it is certainly no out-on-a-limb prediction

MR. McDONNELL, whose poetry has appeared frequently in AMERICA, contributes poetry and criticism to such magazines as Books on Trial and Commonweal.

to say that the body of work being produced by these poets will, and does already, excel that of any previous period in the history of Catholic literature in the United States. A sweeping statement, perhaps—but you have only to look at some of these previous periods and decide for yourself. Here, then, are some of the poets I would like most to call to your attention—and one of them, whom I shall indicate later, seems to me a true and genuine discovery.

## BEST IN OUR HISTORY?

John Logan came into prominence, if not with a single poem, then certainly with a single book—*Cycle for Mother Cabrini*. I cannot help feeling that at this point of his development Mr. Logan's stylistic mannerisms—the short-chopped lines, the severe and sometimes artless enjambments, the occasional idiosyncratic spelling and rhyme—are but the results of his search for a suitable form. Besides the title poem in the book, and in some ways excelling it, is the verse melodrama "The Death of Southwell."

In this poem it is interesting to compare Logan's "Hangman sits on Tyburn Tree/... The hangman moans in Tyburn Tree" with Francis Thompson's "Rain, rain on Tyburn tree, /... Red dew on Tyburn tree"; and Logan's "Now unbless hangman, unbless me" with Thompson's "Blest fruit of the unblest bough." Francis Thompson, in fact, called his poem "To the English Martyrs"—one of whom, of course, was Southwell. Now though the source and idiom appear to be unquestionably derivative, this does not in any way mean that John Logan is not his own man and poet. Indeed I only wish I had space enough to quote his lines at greater length. For unless I miss my guess altogether, John Logan's contribution to Catholic poetry, though considerable now, belongs to an even greater future.

William Alfred's work should be better known than it is, especially to Catholic readers. I first became acquainted with his writing in a slight, paper-cover edition of a long poem called "The Annunciation Rosary." It is described by the author as a dramatic poem in fifteen lyric movements. The lyric called "The Visitation" is particularly sensitive, with our Lady's first amazement; "I can no more contain him/than the rock contains the flower. . . ." to the realization of her fulfilment: "But now God grows blood and bone/within me, I am grass/that drinks the sun./I will change my lot with none."

But if, on the whole, this poem bore the marks of a first performance, it also held the promise of greater accomplishment to come. The dramatic element evident in "The Annunciation Rosary" eventually developed in William Alfred the qualities and abilities of a first-rate dramatist. Proof of this is the magnificent *Agamemnon*. But the *Agamemnon* of Alfred is not a translation even at best; it is a retelling; more than that, a re-creation in its own right. This work, in fact, was praised by many of the leading critics; but it is still possible today to speak the name of William Alfred among intelligent readers and get no flicker of response. And yet here is the writer who seems to me to hold tremendous hope in the field of dramatic verse.

Robert Fitzgerald has already published two volumes of poems, and very recently combined these with additional poems in a book called *In the Rose of Time*. I therefore call him a "new" poet, because it is on this latest work that Mr. Fitzgerald's individual reputation must be evaluated. He has, to begin with, a lyric quality that seems to me as good as any you can find in poetry today. I should want you especially to read his poem on John Wheelwright, and the long poem, "Georgic," with this passage that seems like something out of Homer, or even Dante—though not, of course, in *terza rima*:

As after laden ships have reached home port,  
The happy sailors load the prow with garlands,  
Then is the time to gather acorns and  
Laurel berries and the blood-red myrtle,  
To lay your traps for cranes and snares for buck,  
To hit the fallow deer with twisted slingshots,  
And track the long-eared hare—  
When snow is deep, and ice is on the rivers.

Excellent as this may be, however, it is probably as co-translator of Sophocles (with Dudley Fitts) that Robert Fitzgerald's name will be most commonly remembered. But that, really, is something to be considered separately. Jacques Maritain has thought enough of his poetry to quote some of it in his *Creative Intuition in Art and Poetry*.

William Goodreau's poem, "Father Sebastian Rale, S.J.—A Letter to His Brother," establishes him at once as one of our finest poets; and I say this quite aware of the danger of predicting on the basis of a first published work. William Goodreau is the possessor of that genuine new talent which I mentioned a little earlier. But credit for his discovery must go to the editors of the *Hudson Review*, in which the poem recently appeared. It is a longer poem than is commonly seen today, and consequently I cannot give here the detailed reading it deserves. Basically, though—if a poem can ever be basically anything—I would say it is a kind of interior dialog, a fascinating dialectic between Father Rale's actual letter and the mind's commentary on it—as imagined, of course, by the poet. It is literally a matter of reading the poetry between the lines. An easy case could be made for the influence of Robert Lowell in this poem. (I find it most like "Mother Marie Therese.") Though one generally admires Lowell, there is often a feeling that something remains unresolved

in his work. But William Goodreau leaves no such sense of uneasiness, but one of great (shall we say it?) beauty and love. His verse has the intensity, not of Lowell, but of Hopkins. Let me at least give you one section very near the close:

It is in death I'll bring them Christ  
And show his beauty where they strike.  
If I must break apart and feed  
The forest green, the birch, the hawk,  
The snake, my blood will so descend  
To change into the roots we eat,  
And flash within the roebuck's eye.  
My flesh will fall away with fish  
And pebbled stone. My bones will start  
The buds we bunch for virgin brides:  
*Et puis, que mon coeur éclate en flammes!*

But the rest of the poem up to that point, and the remarkable concluding lines—I shall leave for you yourself to discover.

#### ROUNDUP

I had intended, in a brief paragraph each, to deal with at least two more poets. They are Joseph P. Clancy and John Hardy. You may have read Mr. Clancy's "The Desert Fathers," which was published in *Commonweal* two or three years ago, and "Adam's Children" in one of the *New World Writing* series. I confess a lack of significant acquaintance with Mr. Hardy; but what I have seen of his work, in some of the quarterlies, I have liked extremely well.

I have now, in closing, the perplexing duty of submitting a roll-call of names I could not possibly omit. I say "perplexing" because such a list always seems to have the dubious tribute of "and others" attached to it. Actually, all of these poets are worthy of individual attention. They are: Ernest Sandeen, another of the outstanding Notre Dame group; Fr. Raymond Roseliep of Loras College; James F. Cotter, S.J., of Boston College High School; Herbert Kenny, who recently won the Robert Frost Fellowship at the Bread Loaf Conference; lastly, John Fandel and John W. Simons. A separate article would be necessary to begin to do justice to many superior nun-poets.

These all testify to the increasing significance of American Catholic poetry. It is significant because it is a true and honest poetry; and if it is without the precious innovations of an avant-garde, it is equally without false affectations. It is a significant poetry because it insists on preserving the integrity of craftsmanship and of language; it does not provide intricate puzzles for the literary pundits to explore, but offers to communicate (and commune) with the reader. It is honest poetry because, in re-creating man and the world, it has not forgotten the Creator of both.



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# A Southern View

**EDITOR:** In reading "Climate of the South" by Stephen P. Ryan in the June 15 AMERICA—I have always found Mr. Ryan's articles on the Louisiana situation valuable and informative—I was surprised to come across my name given as an example of one of those backsliding Southern liberals who have betrayed the cause by affirming certain values of the South, while continuing to oppose segregation.

Mr. Ryan finds it unbelievable that anyone living in 1957 could maintain that the South might have had better constitutional grounds in 1860 for seceding than Lincoln had for invading. (Lincoln himself wasn't quite so sure; he had to wait for something better than his constitutional position and he got it: Sumter fired on.) I made this subversive remark in an otherwise patriotic and pro-Union article in *Commonweal*; but I did not really expect anyone to take offense, since it was my impression that the issue has always been one of the great mooted constitutional questions, a question relevant, of course, to the South's prerogatives in 1860, not in 1957. I would tend to agree with Mr. Ryan that we got whipped and that, whatever the merits of the case, the issue was settled for once and all, and that it was even for the best.

It hardly seems worth while to renew this particular argument, since I do not regard it as applicable to the present situation. But Mr. Ryan's article does raise another issue which is of the utmost importance in the race question. It has to do with the grounds upon which one bases his indictment of segregation.

Let us begin by agreeing on two more points: 1) Segregation is sinful, because, as Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans has said, it is a denial of the unity and solidarity of the human race; it is sinful as openly practiced in the South; it is at least as sinful as covertly practiced in the North; 2) The decision of the U. S. Supreme Court is the law of the land and should be obeyed by all Americans.

This double-barreled blast against segregation is extraordinarily effective in the South and will eventually prevail, however much the South may dislike the verdict. These two charges are directly sanctioned by two traditions deeply rooted in the Southern consciousness: Christianity and the majesty of the law.

In respect of the latter, incidentally, it seems particularly unfortunate that the Supreme Court should

We reproduce here the letter of Dr. Percy, in which he differs with some of the views expressed in STEPHEN P. RYAN's recent article "Climate of the South" (AM. 6/15/57).

have relied so heavily on socio-psychological theory in its decision against segregation when there were ample grounds, according to some jurists, for a purely legal decision. Socio-psychological theories change much more rapidly than Anglo-Saxon law.

But what seems to me nothing less than monstrous is to couple the case against segregation with an ideological hatred of the South and Southern tradition. Mr. Ryan says he doesn't understand how a Southerner can oppose segregation and at the same time cherish his heritage. I don't understand how a Southerner can do anything else. Mr. Ryan sneers at Southern tradition, at "that breed of men, indigenous to the South, who are capable of approving integration and then, in practically the same breath, falling into a state of almost religious ecstasy as they hysterically extol the glories of the Old South of slavery, of mocking birds, hominy grits and Bourbon whiskey. . . ." This really seems to me to be gratuitously offensive. If Mr. Ryan wonders why the Southern integrationist is discouraged, he needn't look any further. If the rite of initiation into liberalism requires one to swear a blood oath against his native land, then the proposed initiate is going to take another look at the club.

## TRUE SOUTHERN TRADITION

In the first place, even the best-disposed Southerner knows that this sort of charge is not only insulting; it is false. There is a Southern heritage, and it has nothing to do with the colonel in the whiskey ad. It has to do with the conservative tradition of a predominantly agrarian society, a tradition which at its best enshrined the humane aspects of living for rich and poor, black and white. It gave first place to a stable family life, sensitivity and good manners between men, chivalry toward women, an honor code, and individual integrity.

If one wishes to sneer at such values, let him; but I can't help wondering if the sneer does not conceal a contempt for all traditions. It is a tradition which even Wilbur J. Cash recognized as stemming not from the Virginia aristocracy but from the frontier and the farm, and which, Cash goes on to say, possessed a prevalent democratic temper that to an amazing degree destroyed class feeling.

To tell the truth, I can't believe that Mr. Ryan is altogether serious in this old-fashioned Yankee broad-

side against the entire South. At any rate it is difficult for me to take it as a sober contribution to the problem, or as anything but a sort of wry, seriocomic piece of rhetoric. Certainly Mr. Ryan must realize how an attack on segregation mounted on the battleground of enlightened liberal North vs. depraved reactionary South must play directly into the hands of those Southerners who like nothing better than drawing a bead on Northern culture.

#### FUTILE NAME-SLINGING

Nothing is easier than to set forth the major contributions of the North to world culture as the automobile, Levittown and the split-level home—in which there is no sense of the past, or of real community, or even of one's own identity. Nothing is easier than to let the Northerner describe the Northern ideologist: the ritualistic liberal who sacrifices the human encounter for the abstract liberal passion, who prefers the company of Jews and Negroes, not because of the personal qualities of this or that Jew or Negro, but because they are Jews and Negroes, because of the ritual value of the gesture.

It is just as easy for a really unreconstructed Southerner like Donald Davidson to point out that Mississippi, with very low sociological indexes, has produced William Faulkner and Eudora Welty; while Illinois and Ohio and New Jersey, with very high sociological indexes, produce professors who write books about William Faulkner. This kind of polemic takes us back to 1860. . . . Many of us had hoped by now that the days of the *New Republic* diatribes against the South were over and that men of good will in both sections would be able to approach the problem in the spirit of national unity and a plight shared in common rather than the spirit of Northern righteousness against Southern iniquity. If the Negro emigration to the North is accomplishing nothing else, it is accomplishing this: the universalizing of the problem. It is no longer a regional problem nor even a national problem, but the problem of human frailty trapped by historical circumstance. What we are faced with now are not "democratic ideals" but religious ultimates: is there any real reason, beyond democratic values, why a man should not be cruel to another man?

Surely it would be better to cherish rather than destroy the cultural cleavage between the North and the South, a cleavage which accounts for the South's pre-eminence in creative literature and the North's in technics, social propaganda and objective scholarship. The difference has been traced to a Southern pre-occupation with the concrete, the historical, the particular, the immediate; and the Northern passion for the technical, the abstract, the general, the ideological. I see no reason why either tradition should not be enriched rather than reviled by the other. . . .

Here are three simple facts and one deduction which can be drawn from them. The South is a conservative society which openly practices segregation. Segregation is both sinful and illegal. Political conservatism is neither sinful nor illegal—though sometimes one

wonders if liberals don't think it is. This being the case, the most effective way to fight segregation is to distinguish between it and the conservative tradition which seeks to conserve, to keep what is good in the past; and the least effective way to fight segregation is to attack not only it but the society that practices it.

Meanwhile it is the Negro who continues to suffer, in both North and South. Mr. Ryan speaks of the Negro who "can't wait to get out of the lousy South." Has Mr. Ryan heard of the Negro who did get out and who found himself in the North, which was not only lousy but confusing? It is the Negro who is being required to play the heroic role and to transcend the hatreds of both the segregationist and the liberal—and who sometimes incredibly succeeds. The tactics of Rev. Martin Luther King seem to me as wise and as successful as the sometimes arrogant tactics of the NAACP seemed designed precisely to bring about the defeat of its declared objective.

#### JUSTICE WILL WIN

The argument from religion and the law is in the long run unanswerable. The Southern segregationist knows in his bones that he can't continue to profess Christ on Sunday and then draw a racial line to keep his fellow Christians in their place—and his churches are beginning to move. He knows in his bones that the Supreme Court decision will never be reversed and must in the end be obeyed. He has a bad conscience. But the one sure way to give him ground to stand on and to salve his conscience is to attack not only segregation but him, his people and his past. . . .

Mr. Ryan asks "what is to be done" about the Louisiana Catholic who defies his archbishop and promotes segregation. Well, I don't know what is to be done with him, any more than I know what is to be done with the Illinois Catholic who stones the Negro who moves into his neighborhood. I would presume that if one is a Catholic, one does not "do" anything with him. One follows St. Paul and instead of despising him as an enemy, corrects him as a brother, all the while in fear and trembling for one's own salvation.

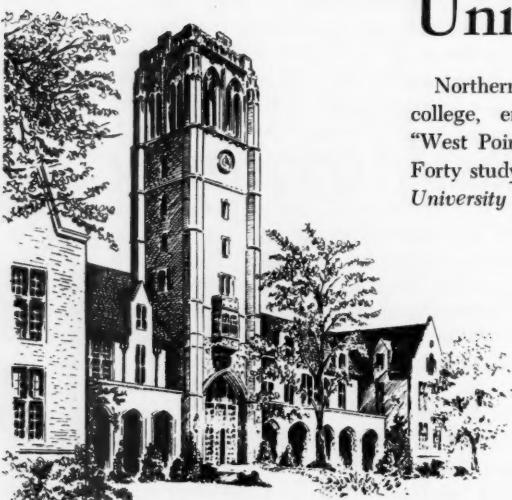
But I cannot close without a salute to Mr. Ryan. We need more like him. Anyhow, this is no time for integrationists to fall out, even if one of them happens to be one of those "Southern particularists." But perhaps particularism is not entirely evil. Perhaps the best imaginable society is not a country-wide Levittown in which everyone is a good liberal ashamed of his past, but a pluralistic society, rich in regional memories and usages. I sincerely believe that the worst fate that could overtake the struggle against segregation would be its capture by a political orthodoxy of the Left. I share Mr. Ryan's dismay at the present mood of the South. Maybe this failure of militant liberalism might serve as an occasion for remembering what St. Francis de Sales said about catching flies with honey instead of vinegar.

WALKER PERCY, M. D.

Covington, La.

Welcoming Dr. Percy's article, we don't think the NAACP "arrogant." Next week we shall explain why.

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### KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS:

LAS Liberal Arts and  
Sciences

FS Foreign Service  
G Graduate School

M Medicine  
N Nursing

Sp Speech  
Sy Seismology

C Commerce  
D Dentistry  
E Engineering  
Ed Education

IR Industrial Relations  
J Journalism  
L Law

PT Pharmacy  
S Social Work

Station  
Army  
Navy  
Air Forces

# BOOKS

## Christian History

### CATHEDRAL AND CRUSADE

By H. Daniel-Rops. Transl. by John Warrington. Dutton. 644p. \$10

Daniel-Rops is a Catholic writer of prodigious output, whose renown has won him a seat in the French Academy though he is not yet fifty. In addition to the numerous essays, novels and literary criticisms of his earlier career, he has, since turning to historical production in 1941, completed two volumes of sacred history and five in a projected eight-volume history of the Church. The translation of *Israel and the Ancient World* and *Jesus and His Times* has familiarized his name on this side of the Atlantic.

The present work, covering the years 1050-1350, is the first in the latter series to appear in English. Beautifully translated, it merits the acclaim the original version received for its brilliant and sound presentation gauged for a large audience. Not only is the author a distinguished literary craftsman, he also possesses an extensive and up-to-date grasp of history. His is the gift of crystal-clear, orderly synthesis.

Interest is kept vivid by frequent flashes of keen insight, sharp portrayals of character, apt quotations and an abundance of picturesque incidents. Scandal could easily have been used as a major ingredient. Stories like that of Abélard and Héloïse are not ignored but are handled with restraint. Rich with illustrious names and momentous events, this is one of the most important and dramatic eras in the life of the Church; and Daniel-Rops does not disguise his enthusiasm for it. Somewhat of the apologist in spots, he is still careful to refine his judgments and to present his picture in all its shades. Histories composed in France tend to focus over-much on the homeland; and this one is no exception.

Of the 14 chapters, the opening three form a protracted and unusual introduction, the setting of society being explained in the first, and the faith which constituted the basis of society in the following one; St. Bernard, as the ideal medieval type, monopolizes the third. It is characteristic that throughout the book great saints like Francis, Dominic, Aquinas and Louis IX are highlighted more than Popes.

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This period saw the papacy rise, through the initiative of the Gregorian reform movement, from the lowly estate forced on it by the Iron Age; it re-established itself as the acknowledged spiritual head of the Church with a vast temporal influence; and then began its decline in power. Politico-ecclesiastical affairs center on the struggle over investitures, on four great contests between Rome and the Medieval Empire and on the quarrel of Boniface VIII with France. These problems occupy the space of two more chapters.

The treatment of the two topics that give the book its title finds the author at his best. Very well done, too, are the sections on the machinery that kept the Church functioning; the attitude toward social and economic problems; the guiding role of the Church in the intellectual sphere as displayed in the development of universities and Scholasticism. The victorious advance of conversions into northern and eastern Europe, the slow recovery of Spain from the Moors, and the start of peaceful missionary endeavor in the East supplanting the violence of the Crusaders are skilfully narrated.

Dissolving elements were also active. An excellent chapter traces the completion of the Eastern Schism and the decline of Byzantium. Another of equal caliber reveals the serious spread of heresy in the West and the means devised to overcome it, culminating in the Inquisition. Finally, "The End of Christendom" discusses the factors preparing the breakup of medieval unity.

JOHN F. BRODERICK

### For Fiction Seekers

During the summer months we shall publish from time to time annotated lists of books that are worth your attention. Annotations are not very satisfying, we know, unless they give more than a mere description of the book. Nor are they flattering to the ego of the reviewer. We shall try to make them informative and we earnestly trust that the reviewers who have given us the opinions we abbreviate will feel rewarded by the fact that their services are thus acknowledged and valued.

NO RUINED CASTLES, by James McGovern (Putnam, \$3.75), deals with a little-known type of U. S. Foreign Service official, the County Resident Officer among our occupation troops. Ed Downey, the officer in question, has to face all kinds of frustration, emanating from his own bureaucrats as well as from

aristocratic and less lovely German traditions. The political facets of the book are handled objectively and honestly, thinks Marcia Kahn, and if the young American is rather alarmingly serious in his dedication to make the world over in the image of the United States, his trials and tribulations are told with no little humor in a fast-moving tale.

THE AWAKENED, by Zoë Oldenbourg (Pantheon, \$4.95), will, feels Doris Grumbach, be a disappointment to those who reveled in her *The World Is Not Enough* and *The Cornerstone*. The present work concerns a Jewish family in France just before Hitler invades the country, and their relations with a family of White Russians. The Jewish group are all converts to the Church, and there is a sort of Romeo-and-Juliet liaison between a Russian boy and Jewish girl. The atmosphere of refugee hope and despair, maladjustment and fear should have made an exciting book, but the characters are too artificial and some of the episodes obviously contrived. Miss Oldenbourg seems more at home in past centuries than in France under the threat of nazism.

## THE WORD

*And he called his disciples to him, and said to them, I am moved with pity for the multitude; it is three days now since they have been in attendance on me; and they have nothing to eat* (Mark 8:1-2; Gospel for the sixth Sunday after Pentecost).

It is clear from the Gospel story that our beloved Saviour, during His brief sojourn among us, was highly observant. Christ our Lord noted in the evening sky the signs of the morrow's weather, He knew well the marks of the turning seasons, He appreciatively eyed the flight of birds and the blooming of field-lilies, He watched closely as the poor widow dropped her pathetic pennies in the offering-box. Best of all, our Lord was sharply observant of the needs of people. He had an eye for all who were in distress, for the sick, the lame, the blind.

Particularly consoling is it that our Redeemer noticed, and with considerable sympathy, the ordinary needs of ordinary people. *They have nothing to*

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eat, says our Saviour, His kindly eyes upon the great throng who had been trailing after Him. Not only does Christ clearly imply that human beings *should* have something to eat; He miraculously and abundantly provides the needed food.

The rational animal—and here the familiar philosophical definition brims with meaning—has many needs. As long as there exists any reasonable doubt about the satisfaction of his basic needs, the rational animal experiences something that never troubles the mere brute animal: he feels profoundly insecure.

Insecurity. Does not this ominous word represent the most universal, most prolonged and most gnawing problem of the average layman? Layman, yes; for no Catholic priest, and certainly no religious of either sex, ever experiences insecurity as the Catholic layman does. I may, at a venture and in a dark moment, wonder about this or that provision for my future: will my last years, for instance, be spent out of reach of Yankee Stadium? But I cannot at all know what it would be like to wonder whether my tender children will have proper food tomorrow and sturdy clothing next winter and, when the time comes, the particular education (it is not cheap in any sense) that I passionately desire for them.

Unquestionably, human needs can be exaggerated. There appear to be people who *need* color television or a small motorboat or even such a mysterious, non-mystical commodity as a mink stole. It is indeed a challenge for the Catholic layman, not to mention others, neither to magnify nor multiply his true needs. Real needs, however, most certainly do exist for the average man, and it is in connection with these that the Catholic layman may find a ready and wide field for the practice of high virtue.

Specifically, the good Catholic man may and must meet the perennial problem of insecurity with the unfailing response of the theological virtue of hope. A man of true faith will always and in every way lean or depend on God his Father. Very specially, however, the earnest Catholic layman, having done his simple, hardworking best to provide for those whom he loves so well, will repose with determined serenity on the higher and mightier providence of the good God who loves him and his family and all men with an infinite love.

Let the good layman, in the most practical and realistic way, entertain no least doubt on the score of divine providence. In his hour of sore need he may rest certain that Christ, our observant and loving Mediator, is already turning

to His almighty Father and saying of all the needy ones who trust in Him, *They have nothing to eat.*

VINCENT P. McCORRY, S.J.

## FILMS

**THE PRIDE AND THE PASSION** (*United Artists*) is Stanley Kramer's two-and-a-quarter-hour, \$4-million Technicolor and VistaVision epic about a cannon dragged halfway across Spain during the Peninsular War. The verdict on it is: logically and pictorially fascinating, humanly disappointing.

Kramer, acting as producer and director, performed his own logistic miracles, deploying several thousand extras over the Spanish countryside to represent the retreating Spanish Army, the troops of Napoleon and the Spanish guerrillas who captured the forty-foot gun (the largest then in existence) and saw in it a symbol of their resistance to tyranny.

The tremendous number of extras, however, serves to accentuate the paucity of speaking parts and the comparative thanklessness and poor definition of the roles played by the three principals. The main function of the partisan chief (Frank Sinatra), the lend-lease British ordnance expert (Cary Grant) and the underclad guerrilla girl (Sophia Loren) seems to be to provide the conventional triangle. One is somewhat mollified, though, at the end, when, instead of the expected romantic fade-out, the triangle is resolved with grim logic on the battlefield of Avila. [L of D: B]

**THE DELICATE DELINQUENT** (*Paramount*) is not a delinquent at all but a poor dope of an assistant janitor who is mistaken for one when he has the misfortune to carry the garbage out into the middle of a teen-age gang war. Hauled off to jail with the real combatants, Jerry becomes the particular target of a softboiled, sociologically-minded cop (Darren McGavin) who is determined to prove that delinquency can be cured with kindness.

This comedy of errors, which marks Jerry Lewis' first screen appearance without his erstwhile partner Dean Martin, has a happy ending: Jerry becomes a policeman and starts helping delinquents himself. Besides the frightening implications of this plot twist as far as concerns law and order, the picture has other drawbacks—chiefly that the writing is disorganized and seldom particularly funny. [L of D: A-1]

MOIRA WALSH

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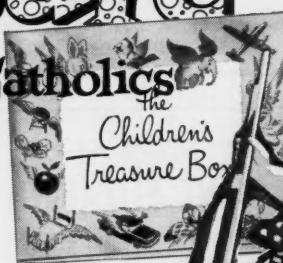
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